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ISSUES OF 1868.

Speech of Senator O. P. Morton of In-  
diana,  
At Washington, Tuesday Evening, Decem-  
ber 31, 1867.

GENTLEMEN OF THE UNION AND FEEL-  
LOW-CITIZENS: In accepting the invita-  
tion to address you this evening on the  
great political issues involved in the  
Presidential campaign the coming year,  
I had intended to carefully prepare my  
address, but ill health and the pressure of  
official duties have prevented my doing so,  
and I shall be obliged to deliver my views  
in an off-hand manner, and the remarks  
will be confined as to what I regard the  
issues to be decided by the American  
people at the next Presidential election.

As I consider the subject, there are two  
great ideas uppermost in the minds of the  
American people at the present time, both  
struggling for supremacy. The first is,  
the justice and right on the part of the  
Government and people in putting down  
the late rebellion by force of arms; the  
second is, the justice and right of the re-  
bels and the cause for which the rebels  
fought. All the questions with which we  
will have to deal in the contest will be  
emanations from these two leading  
ideas. In other words, the struggle in  
1868 will be on the question of the right  
of the rebellion, and the right of the  
United States in putting it down, as in  
1864.

The man, therefore, who votes for the  
candidates of the Conservative or the  
Democratic party, as it may be called,  
whatever may be his intention to the con-  
trary, will be voting for the policy of  
the Government, and the man who votes  
for the Republican party will be voting  
for the policy of the rebels. The man  
who votes for the Conservative party  
will be voting for the policy of the  
Government, and the man who votes  
for the Republican party will be voting  
for the policy of the rebels.

I may here refer to the present con-  
dition of the country, and to causes which  
have operated to increase financial em-  
barrassment, and distract the commercial  
prosperity of the nation—a condition of  
affairs to be attributed solely to the fact  
that the question of reconstruction is not  
yet settled. And first I would say, it is  
the persistent effort on the part of the  
North, that keep up these distractions and  
hinder the Government from establishing  
internal peace. Whenever desirous of  
peace and prosperity should be in favor of  
speedy reconstruction; while, on the other  
hand, the efforts of the opponents of the  
proposed plan are directly operating to  
keep nine States in their unfortunate  
condition, and so many laborers to perpetu-  
ate these deplorable difficulties.

Another source of trouble is apparent  
in the fact that since the 1st of August,  
1865, the Government has paid \$165,000,  
out of the national debt, it is true, but  
in referring to the report of the Sec-  
retary of the Treasury in relation to this  
matter, the statement that only \$255,000,  
000 is the amount of the reduction of the  
public debt; but it has transpired that over  
\$200,000,000 of our portion of the un-  
liquidated debt proper has been paid; and  
though this amount is not so reported, it  
should nevertheless be considered as a  
part of the public debt, for it has been ex-  
ported from the public debt, and I may say,  
wasted in paying expenses that ought not  
to have been incurred.

Need we wonder that our people are  
restless under such an administration of  
affairs, when such an amount of money has  
been directly taken from the North to  
pay a debt which the South should have  
long since been in position to be made to  
pay a part of; a debt which they forced  
upon the country by rebellious acts, and  
which they should be compelled to liqui-  
date as an evidence of their loyalty now.

It may sound very well to the ears of  
foreign governments to hear that we have  
been able to raise so large an amount by  
taxation; but while they may admire our  
ambition to discharge the liabilities of the  
nation, they may reasonably despise our  
slovenly sagacity. And I take occasion  
here to say, as I have frequently declared  
my views on this subject, that we would  
be far more prosperous and happy if we  
had simply paid the interest on that debt.  
Why should we be in a hurry to pay the  
enormous amount which burdens the people  
with such heavy taxation? Have we not  
already given half a million of lives in  
putting down the rebellion—have we not  
lost the nation? Have we not a large  
amount of State, county, city and town  
debts to pay, growing out of that war?  
Have we not already done enough in  
our day and generation, without being  
crushed down by the weight of special  
taxation?

The policy which has been commenced,  
of endeavoring to pay off the national  
debt rapidly, in the present condition of  
affairs, I cannot but consider as most  
ruinous and disastrous in its conse-  
quences.

Then, again, we have added to our  
troubles the policy inaugurated by the  
Secretary of the Treasury, in the contrac-  
tion of the currency, which has served to  
restrain commercial enterprise, undermine  
the trade of the people, and keep the  
money market in an unsettled condition;  
and confidence will never be restored until  
the bill which is now before Congress, in-  
tended to prohibit the Secretary exercising  
this power, is passed.

It is true, we want retrenchment—re-  
form—but we want real and substantial  
retrenchment, for the expenses of the  
Government are indeed enormous. We do  
not want that kind of retrenchment that  
gives to clerks only starling salaries,  
nor that other kind which would prevent  
a Senator from getting paper enough on  
which to write his letters, but we want  
retrenchment in the larger items of our  
public expenses; and the time has come  
when that kind of retrenchment can be  
commenced without injury to the affairs  
of the Government.

# The Indiana American.

"THE UNION, THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS."

VOL. 7, NO. 3.]

BROOKVILLE, IND., FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1868.

[WHOLE NO. 316.]

We have now an army of fifty thousand  
men; and we have a navy that is much  
larger than is necessary for the country at  
the present time; and I think the time is  
at hand when both can be diminished, and  
thereby lessen our expenses, millions of  
dollars. Very many of our larger vessels  
now in commission can be recalled, and  
hid up at the navy yards, and I trust be-  
fore long the army can be reduced to at  
least one-half its present numbers.

The purchase of Alaska from the  
Russian Government can be justified on  
considerations of high political impor-  
tance, and on considerations of great  
commercial importance for the future. It  
is necessary that we should have such a  
position for the benefit of the commerce  
of the western portion of the nation; but  
I cannot see the necessity of spending  
seven and one-half millions of dollars in  
gold for the purchase of the Island of St.  
Thomas, which may be truly said to be  
the very birth place of the yellow fever,  
and a locality so often made desolate by  
hurricanes and earthquakes.

It is important that we should fund our  
national debt, and put the bonds into  
such a shape, if possible, that they may  
pay a lower rate of interest. I do not  
know that this can be done at present, but  
at the same time no one can doubt for a  
moment that such a policy is desirable.

The question has been agitated already  
in a number of States to have the right  
of taxing the bonds, and whether it can  
be done or not, it is not right that the  
Government should directly enforce a  
system of taxation which deprives the  
people of several States of money that  
would be far better appropriated in paying  
the debts of those States.

The Democratic party, and in speaking  
of it I may as well state what constitutes  
the strength of this party, for it is com-  
posed of the Democratic party of the  
North, the rebels of the South, and a few  
converts from the Republican party since  
the close of the war. It has its financial  
scheme to relieve the country of the debt  
which is in fact the result of the party  
action which brought on the war and  
made a debt; and, though it professes to  
have the great remedy for our national  
financial trouble, I cannot myself think  
so, unless the remedy is based upon the  
hypothesis that the "hair of the dog is  
good for the cure."

But we will settle upon some policy that  
will be satisfactory to the whole nation;  
and so far as any attempt on the part of  
the Democratic party to benefit the finan-  
cial condition of the country is concerned,  
they may just as well make up their minds  
that the whole matter will be adjusted  
without their assistance.

I said in the commencement of my re-  
marks that there are two ideas uppermost  
in the minds of the people.

The first of these will, as I have already  
said, enter into the issues of the campaign.  
If the idea prevails that the Government  
is right in putting down the rebellion;  
if it is right in putting forth every en-  
ergy that could be suggested for the ac-  
complishment of this purpose, then you  
soldiers and sailors, who bore a part in the  
struggle for the preservation of our na-  
tional existence, will certainly feel that  
you have not only acted wisely, but that  
you have borne an honorable part in the  
services rendered your country in the  
hour of its peril.

But, on the other hand, should the  
Democratic party succeed, and I trust in  
truth it may not—that the people of this  
great nation will avert such a calamity by  
their votes in that campaign—then will it  
be to you a disgrace and a dishonor to  
have been a member of the Union army,  
and the places of trust will revert to the  
rebels, and their names occupy the posi-  
tion of honor in the pages of history.

One question we have yet to meet in  
this campaign is, the manner in which the  
fourth of July shall be celebrated, with  
all of their political rights and privi-  
leges as States, and the manner in which  
these blessings may be fully enjoyed by all.

The question is not whether that power  
shall be divided between loyal and dis-  
loyal men—whether it shall be conferred  
upon blacks and whites; or upon whites  
alone, fourteen fifteenths of whom are  
rebels, and bore a prominent part in the  
war against the Union; but we insist that  
the power, when it is conferred, should be  
so divided that its preponderance shall not  
be on the side of disloyal men. Nor do  
we ask all we should even in granting  
this, for it does not exclude those who  
have borne arms in the late war against  
the country, but we do demand that the  
power shall be conferred in such a manner  
that blacks and whites may have a voice  
in the State government and on the ques-  
tion of Reconstruction.

It is true, the present law of Congress  
disfranchises only a small number of those  
who engaged in the rebellion. It does  
not disfranchise the party officers or  
soldiers, but that class of men who had  
once sworn allegiance to the Constitution  
in office of trust, and this class can not  
exceed 45,000 persons.

When President Johnson issued his  
proclamation disfranchising those who  
had participated in the rebellion, it in-  
cluded not less than fourteen classes, num-  
bering between 250,000 and 280,000 men;  
but the Congressional system of disfran-  
chisement will apply to only 45,000, and  
not to exceed 50,000 men.

We have heard of late much about an op-  
pressed people. We are told by Democratic  
writers and by the newspapers of the Dem-  
ocratic party in all parts of the country,  
that the people of the South are down-  
trodden and oppressed. Do they who pre-  
tend to oppress bear in mind that they are  
the very people who, but a few years  
since, arrayed themselves in arms against  
the nation—whose actions have cost us  
over half a million of lives, the very peo-  
ple who developed the war that has left  
us as a legacy a debt of thousands of  
millions of dollars, with an almost insur-  
mountable amount yet to liquidate, and to  
speak of the untold suffering and sorrow

that has been thrust upon the people of  
the North? And now we are charged  
with being oppressors and tyrants, because  
they have not been admitted to full politi-  
cal rights. And do you call this oppres-  
sion? Can you ignore the fact that they  
were the projectors of a rebellion, guilty  
of treason, and plotters against the life of  
the nation? And are these the men who  
are to be welcomed back as citizens of the  
United States? Did they have the right  
to run from the battlefield to the ballot  
box, and declare who shall be their repre-  
sentatives in Congress—to abandon their  
arms and resume the rights of loyal citi-  
zens—to wield again the control of our  
National Government?

Yet these are the people whose agony is  
in the throats of the Democratic party,  
and I take it upon myself to say there is  
neither sense nor justice in it. When they  
talk about oppression they forget they are  
favoring those who brought on the trouble  
and bathed the land in blood.

The law prevails in all well regulated  
communities that crime shall be punished,  
and a sense of justice demands that out-  
rages upon the laws and the rights of the  
people shall be severely punished. We  
talk about the present State governments  
that have been ignored in Congressional  
acts. Can you tell me by whom they were  
formed, if not by the proclamation of the  
President of the United States; and if you  
will recur to the elections in Virginia,  
North and South Carolina, you will find  
that less than one third of the white voters  
took part in forming the constitution of  
the present States. The delegates formed  
them, and they have never been submitted  
for ratification to the people. Nor have  
they had the moral right that the constitu-  
tions have which have been more re-  
cently formed. These formed in 1865  
contained certain conditions, such as pro-  
hibiting slavery, prohibiting the payment  
of the debt contracted during the late  
war; provisions that were required by the  
proclamation of President Johnson. But  
yet they have never been ratified, and were  
the Senators and Representatives of these  
States admitted into our Congressional  
hall, they would be cast aside and ignored,  
as they had never been ratified—and  
that I know would be the course pur-  
sued.

The struggle, therefore, on the part of  
the Democratic party, North and South,  
as I have spoken, will be, in 1868, for  
the restoration of these States into rebel hands,  
and the administration of the affairs of  
these States on that basis.

If you are prepared to say that blacks  
and loyal white men are to be turned  
over to the tender mercies of rebels, then  
vote the Democratic ticket. But if you  
are in favor of impartial suffrage, and giv-  
ing rights to black and white, then vote  
the Republican ticket.

There are numerous other questions  
wrung out in these leading ideas. I have  
announced. The first one I shall mention  
is the payment for slaves emancipated  
during the war. And though this has  
not been declared as yet to be a question  
of the issue, I am as firmly convinced  
that it is to be, as though I read it in the  
written platform of the Democratic party.

The States of Maryland and Kentucky  
have already provided for this, in antici-  
pation of the success of the Democratic  
party at the next election. I have Mr.  
Morton read from the Constitution of the  
State of Maryland, and from a report of  
the proceedings of the Kentucky State  
Legislature, to substantiate the statement  
made.

Georgia has also provided for this; and  
although other Southern States may be  
silent on this subject, they will be ready  
to meet the question when it is time.

The Democratic party of the South will  
be a unit on the question; and now let me  
show that the Democratic party of the  
North are ready to meet them. I base my  
assertion on the fact that the members of  
this party voted without a single excep-  
tion against the amendments when they  
were before Congress, and Democratic  
newspapers have denounced those amend-  
ments with one voice; so it is safe to say  
that in the issues the Northern wing will  
concede to the South everything claimed  
by them; and if they do not, their action  
will be very different from what it has  
been in years past; for I never knew of a  
demand made by the South that was not  
readily conceded by the Northern portion  
of that party. Should the Democratic  
party come into power, the payment for  
the slaves emancipated may be considered  
a settled fact.

You remember when the question was  
up in Congress to abolish slavery in 1852,  
and again in 1864, the Democratic mem-  
bers in both Houses were then united in  
favor of paying for every slave emanci-  
pated, and it was denounced as morally  
wrong to take a slave even from a rebel,  
and not fairly compensate the owner for  
the loss; and I say again this question is  
inevitably involved in the general issues of  
1868.

Another question involved, that will  
follow just as certain, and that is the  
assumption and payment of the rebel war  
debt. I ask you as reasoning and think-  
ing men, when the representatives of the  
South are admitted to Congress, and are  
called upon to vote upon appropriation  
bills, do you think they would vote to tax  
themselves for our debt and not provide for  
their own?

The Northern States staked their finan-  
cial power in the Government bonds, and  
the South risked all she had in the pro-  
secution of the war, and lost all; and you  
may expect, in the advent of the Dem-  
ocratic party into power, that provision will  
be made for the payment of that debt;  
but I am glad to say that not until then  
will it be thought of.

The Democratic party were opposed to  
our debt being contracted in its incipency,  
and you may remember that a prominent  
member of that party warned the people  
not to buy the bonds, as they would prove  
worthless on their hands. They were  
hostile then to the debt, as the Southern

wing of the Democratic party are now to  
being compelled to help pay it. So that  
the demand on their part to tax the peo-  
ple for the payment of the debt of the  
South will be a sure concession as the  
demand is made.

I come to another issue that is also in-  
volved in the contest—the pensioning of  
rebel soldiers, and the widows and orphans  
of those who fell fighting for the rebellion.  
Does not the present state of affairs in  
Maryland indicate the feeling which pre-  
vails against the soldiers who were  
members of regiments in the Union army?  
Can a Union soldier be elected to any  
office? Is he not proscribed in business  
and in society? I ask if Union men, who  
are lawyers or physicians, find any suc-  
cess in the practice of their profession?  
Are they not proscribed on account of  
their sentiments? Does not the same  
condition of affairs exist in Kentucky? I  
see here to-night a gentleman who can  
tell you about that much better than I—  
who knows from experience and observa-  
tion what the feeling is there. Rebels,  
and only rebels, are elected to office. The  
presence of Union men is nowhere toler-  
ated, and their position made uncomfortable,  
and, if possible, to rid the State of their  
presence.

Six, if you give the power of recon-  
struction into the hands of rebels, you  
may expect the same condition of affairs in  
all the Southern States. And you may  
ask, what do I argue from all this? I  
will tell you. When the Democratic party  
again gets into power, do you suppose  
the representatives from the South will  
vote for pensioning the soldiers and wid-  
ows of the North, and not provide for  
their own in the South? Is it human  
nature, I ask, for men to do such things?  
And when you bring them into power,  
their rebel soldiers will be as surely  
placed on the same footing with the  
Union soldiers of the North. This ques-  
tion, then, I say, is involved in the  
issues of the coming campaign.

The point I make here to-night is the  
inevitable consequence of the Democratic  
party coming into power. Some men may  
like the financial policy of the party, and  
vote for it solely on that account; but let  
them remember that they are voting to  
elevate the rebel soldier to the same posi-  
tion as those who fought to preserve the  
Union.

The military policy of the party is  
foreshadowed in the order promulgated  
by General Hancock on assuming com-  
mand of the Fifth Military District, and  
as it has been presented to Congress by  
the President for its adoption, I think  
that criticism upon it is perfectly fair. I  
will read the order. [The order was read,  
as has been published.] This idea is, like  
the apples of the Dead Sea, fair to the eye,  
but crumble to powder if but touched to  
the lip.

The noticeable feature of this order is  
that it does not mention the subject of  
reconstruction, for which, by authority of  
Congress, he is sent there and empowered  
to carry out. It goes on to say that the  
civil rights of the people must not be in-  
terfered with by military rule, and openly  
declares by this order that the very pur-  
pose for which he was sent there is to be  
superceded and ignored.

Mr. Morton then read from acts of  
Congress defining the authority and duties  
of commanders of the military districts.  
By these I show that this order is in con-  
tradiction and defiance of the law enacted  
by Congress. The very State govern-  
ments, which, by those acts, are abrogated  
and declared illegal, are the ones which  
General Hancock, by his advent, has re-  
garded in a general order, Congress, to be  
explicit, has, at a later day, defined itself  
on this subject, and declared, if these State  
governments were allowed to exist, illegal  
and unauthorized as they are, it would  
only be through the sufferance of the  
military commanders.

But General Hancock expresses open  
contempt for Congressional authority, and  
bears allegiance to the civil author-  
ity of the State of Louisiana, and im-  
plies thereby the recognition of a State  
Government that has been declared illegal  
and unauthorized expressly by Congress.  
What does he mean when he expresses  
himself about civil liberty? It looks very  
well, but what does it mean in this con-  
nection? It means that loyal men shall  
be tried and condemned by rebel juries.  
But it is said they will have justice done  
there. Who has ever heard of the murder  
of a single Union man in the South hav-  
ing been forced out, or the guilty one  
punished?

I admit the *habeas corpus* is a right  
dear to the people of the country, and  
should not be interfered with except in  
time of war, when its force would be an-  
tagonistic to the interests of the Govern-  
ment. But what does the writ of *habeas  
corpus* mean as seen in the eyes of General  
Hancock and expressed in this order?  
What does it mean, if it does not say to  
the rebel judges, you are clothed with full  
power to demand the release of every man  
arrested by military authority, applied, of  
course, to the oppression of the loyal men  
of that State. And all this in the name  
of law and justice and right. Do you  
believe that it is meted out to them? Let  
the massacre at Memphis and the horrible  
tragedy at New Orleans answer that, and  
think of it, that order was written on the  
very spot where that bloody tragedy was  
enacted, an account of which sent a thrill  
of horror into the heart of every being in  
Christendom—that order which declares  
that this power shall be directed only to  
sustain their laws and government. I read  
that order with mingled sorrow and con-  
tempt. General Hancock was a noble  
member of the Union army, and his re-  
cord one that any man might well be  
proud of. He was wounded in the ser-  
vice of his country, and justly earned the  
laurels borne by him from many a battle-  
field; but I saw that when he lent his  
powers to the cause of the enemies of his  
country, and to those who ought still to  
be his enemies, that his laurels would  
wither and his name go down amid the

condemnations of a people whose honor he  
has insulted.

The great questions of the campaign in  
1868 are, then, I repeat, the maintenance  
of this Government, the justice of the war,  
or the right of the rebellion. And these  
are the questions which are to be decided;  
1868 is to determine whether this Gov-  
ernment is to remain in the hands of Union  
men, or to be allowed to pass into the  
hands of Southern men.

My voice is growing weak and my  
strength failing me, so that I shall have  
to close my remarks, thanking you, ladies  
and gentlemen, for the attention you have  
given me.

At the conclusion of the speech, a vote  
of thanks was tendered to Mr. Morton,  
after which the meeting adjourned.

## GEN. GRANT FOR PRESIDENT.

BY HENRY WILSON.

In this year, 1868, the people are to  
choose a Chief Magistrate. Six millions  
of men, equipped with the ballot, will  
strive for the glittering prize. Mighty  
issues are involved in the impending con-  
test. The political organizations, with  
sharply defined ideas, principles, and po-  
licies, will contend for the mastery, for  
the executive power of the Government, dur-  
ing the coming four years, in which are to  
be carried out the fruits of the victories  
of the terrible struggles of the past seven  
years, or in which old issues will be re-  
opened and old strife renewed, that must  
embitter the future of the Republic.

The people are ranged into two politi-  
cal organizations, each with nearly three  
millions of voters, a name, and a history.  
The one claims to be the Democratic party;  
the other calls itself the Republican party.  
The history of the country during the  
past thirteen eventful years is a record  
of the ideas, principles and acts of these  
antagonistic organizations. Their issues  
have not been, like the ordinary issues of  
political parties, mere questions of adminis-  
tration; but fundamental and vital, as  
opposite as the zenith and the nadir.

The history of the country for the past  
thirty years too clearly shows that the  
Democratic party has been dominated by  
the dark, inhuman and unchristian spirit  
of slavery; that it was guided through a  
series of years by the councils of slave  
masters, or by leaders in sympathy with  
slave masters. That history teaches us  
that under that fatal leading the Demo-  
cratic party renounced the faith of the re-  
publican fathers; took from black men  
rights accorded by the founders of the  
Republic; struck at the right of petition;  
annexed a slaveholding people, avowedly  
to strengthen slavery; opened free soil,  
won from Mexico, to human bondage;  
enacted the Fugitive Slave Law, and then  
pronounced its victories over liberty and  
justice "finalities." That history teaches  
us, too, that it reopened sectional agita-  
tion by repealing the prohibition of slav-  
ery embodied in the Missouri Comprom-  
ise of 1820; by sustaining the lawless  
violence that seized the government of  
Kansas, inaugurated the reign of robbery  
and blood, established slavery, and framed  
the Lecompton Constitution; that it  
hastened to accept the Dred Scott doc-  
trine, divided into two hostile factions, the  
one shamefully avowing that it "did not care  
whether slavery was voted up or voted  
down," and the other proclaiming the  
right to take slaves into the territories;  
that it held them in bondage under the  
authority of the Federal Government; that  
it went into the canvass of 1860 rent in  
factions, and was ignominiously defeated;  
that its old slave master raised the banner  
of rebellion; that many of its Northern  
chiefs and their followers gave sympathy  
to their old comrades; but that hundreds  
of thousands nobly strove to save their  
country, and tens of thousands found in  
the Republican ranks new and more con-  
genial associations.

The history of the Republic during the  
past thirteen years, shows that the Repub-  
lican party has been inspired by the just,  
humane and ennobling spirit of liberty.  
It was brought into being amidst the  
struggles to repeal the Missouri Comprom-  
ise and carry slavery into Kansas. De-  
feated in its first national contest, it ap-  
pealed to the patriotism of the people, to  
their love of liberty and sense of justice.  
It called the battle-roll anew, went into  
the canvass of 1860 for the freedom of  
the Territories and the restoration of the  
Government to the policy of the fathers,  
and made Abraham Lincoln President.  
It then accepted the bloody issues of civil  
war, rather than betray liberty, or sacrifice  
the rights of a race, or the enduring in-  
terests of the nation. In the trials of  
civil war, it made the national capital  
free; prohibited slavery in all the terri-  
tories; repealed the Fugitive Slave Law;  
armed black men to fight for their coun-  
try; gave liberty to the slaves, when they  
enrolled their names on the master rolls  
of the country's defenders, and freedom to  
the wives and children of colored heroes;  
emancipated three and a half millions of  
bondmen by executive proclamation, and  
all the slaves in the land by constitution-  
al amendment. It achieved its series of  
splendid victories for freedom, justice and  
humanity in spite of the stern and per-  
sistent opposition of the Democracy.

Since the close of the war, it has through  
the Freedmen's Bureau protected and in-  
structed the weak, and lifted up and giv-  
en heart and hope to the landless and  
homeless poor. Inspired by patriotism  
and liberty, and actuated by a sense of  
justice, it has given the emancipated bond-  
men civil rights, the right to testify in  
the Courts, to sue, to hold property, and  
to be protected by equal laws. It has  
given suffrage to colored men in the Dis-  
trict of Columbia, in the Territories and  
in the rebel States.

Believing in the brotherhood of hu-  
manity, the Republican party discards the  
brutal, vulgar, and wicked dogma that  
this is the white man's government. It  
accepts rather the Christian creed of the  
Declaration of Independence, believing,

in the words of George Bancroft, that  
"the heart of Jefferson, in writing the  
declaration, and of Congress, in adopting  
it, beat for all humanity; the assertion of  
right was made for the entire world of  
mankind and coming generations, without  
any exceptions whatever." The Republi-  
can party is not so scared as to fear that  
five millions of poor laboring black men  
will achieve supremacy over thirty-three  
millions of white men. It seeks to secure  
the supremacy of no race, but the protec-  
tion of all races. Against all supposed  
interests, against the councils of timidity,  
against misrepresentation of motive and  
purpose, against all unholy influences,  
the Republican party has struggled until  
it has broken the fetters of enslaved mil-  
lions, lifted a despised race up to Ameri-  
can citizenship, clothed them with civil  
rights, and given them in the rebel States  
the ballot to protect the weak, vindicate  
the authority of the nation, and restore  
those disloyal communities to loyalty and  
representation.

On the face of impartial  
history the Republican party proposes to  
fight on until a crowning victory is won.  
What Republican is not filled with just  
and grateful pride as his eye traces the  
glorious record of the Republican party  
for patriotism, liberty, justice and human-  
ity? What Democrat can refer to the re-  
cord of Democracy, during the past twenty  
years, with gratification or pride?

The issues between the Republican and  
Democratic parties are more sharply  
drawn and clearly defined than ever. The  
Republican party has advanced to a higher  
plane of action; the Democratic party  
has sunk to a lower one. The Republi-  
can cause is more unselfish and self-sac-  
rificing than in the national contests of  
the past. It addresses itself to the race  
and conscience of mankind, and to the  
lasting interests of the country. The  
Democratic cause is even less noble than  
in 1864. It is hardly anything less than  
an appeal to the passions, prejudices, and  
temporary interests of the hour, with the  
ignoble battle cry of "Negro Supremacy."  
"The White Man's Government."

The Presidential contest of 1868, with  
its vast issues, will stir the nation to its  
profoundest depths. The Democracy,  
without responsibilities, under the leader-  
ship of men of talent, tact and experience,  
will put forth a gigantic effort to win back  
power. The Republican party, upon  
which rest grave responsibilities, has in  
its ranks able, tried and true men—civil  
and military—men whose names are hon-  
orably associated with the country's  
struggles for unity and liberty. Who  
among these honored men, of proved ac-  
quaintance and tried fidelity, shall be selected  
to marshal the Republican hosts to victo-  
ry? Whose nomination, will, in advance,  
make the assurance of victory doubly  
sure? Above personal aspirations and  
ambitions, above local pride and attach-  
ments, above all associations and interests,  
there comes from the body of the three  
millions of Republicans to whom the suc-  
cess of the old cause is so dear, the prompt  
and emphatic response, "Ulysses S.  
Grant!" These masses see, with the clear  
instinct of patriotism, that the great sol-  
dier would bring into the impending con-  
test the weight of his great name and il-  
lustrous achievements, his solid and prac-  
tical judgment, his conceded integrity,  
his modesty that never vaunts his own  
deeds, and his rare magnanimity that ever  
graciously recognizes the deeds of other  
generals, soldiers and civilians. These  
unselfish masses, with their practical sag-  
acity, see that the ranks of the Republi-  
cans, in the struggle through which duty  
has led them, have been weakened by  
timidity and treachery; that their sacred  
cause now needs to be re-enforced, and so  
it often has been, by drafts from the most  
advanced men of the Democracy; and that  
the selection of Gen. Grant will rally tens  
of thousands to the cause their hearts  
love.

The military achievements of General  
Grant are gratefully acknowledged, his  
administrative capacity is now conceded,  
and his general views of public policy  
commended. Earnest Republicans, how-  
ever, whose fidelity to vital issues can not  
be questioned, but whose distrust of pub-  
lic men has been quickened by the shame-  
ful treachery of men they had trusted and  
followed, are anxious concerning the sen-  
timents of General Grant upon those vital  
issues, the right settlement of which can  
alone bring permanent security and  
repose to the nation. The past and present  
of the Republican party, and the per-  
sonal integrity of General Grant, afford  
ample assurance that their and his sen-  
timents and opinions will be distinctly  
avowed in the coming canvass. In the  
trying days of the war, in the summer of  
1863, General Grant wrote from his camp,  
on the banks of the Mississippi, to his  
tried friend Washington:

"I have never been an anti-slavery  
man; but I try to do justly of what I  
see. I made up my mind, when this war  
commenced, that the North and South  
could only live together in peace as one  
nation, and they could only be one nation  
by being a free nation. Slavery, the  
corner stone of the so-called Confed-  
eracy, is knocked out, and it will take more men  
to keep black men slaves than to put  
down the rebellion. Much as I desire  
peace, I am opposed to any peace until  
this question of slavery is forever settled."

This emphatic avowal fully commended  
General Grant to the policy of emancipa-  
tion. He was, too, for the re-election of  
Abraham Lincoln, declaring to his near-  
est friends that his defeat would be a  
disaster to the country. Since the close  
of the war, he has been in accord  
with Congress, in its efforts to pro-  
tect the loyal black and white, secure the  
equal rights of all, and restore the rebel  
States to their practical relations. When  
the pending Constitutional amendment  
was before Congress, he was for its sub-  
mission to the people; and when it was  
submitted, he urged the leading men of  
the rebel States to vote for its adoption.  
After its rejection by the rebel Legisla-  
tures, he pressed Southern men, who

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